## Message Text

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SUBJECT: LOCAL CONTROVERSY HIGHLIGHTS MISGIVINGS ABOUT VALUE OF TERRITORIAL REVERSION MOVEMENT

- 1. SUMMARY: RECENT ATTEMPT TO EXCLUDE SIGNATURE DRIVE SPONSORED BY NORTHERN TERRITORIES REVERSION GROUPS FROM FEBRUARY SAPPORO SNOW FESTIVAL HIGHLIGHTS SKEPTICISM HELD IN SOME QUARTERS HERE TOWARD VALUE OF REVERSION MOVEMENT. CRITICS ARGUE THAT, GIVEN SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE AND WEAKNESS OF PUBLIC SUPPORT, MOVEMENT'S ACTIVITIES ARE BOTH FUTILE AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. LEADERS OF REVERSION ORGANIZATIONS CLAIM, HOWEVER, TO HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN ATTRACTING POPULAR SUPPORT AND ASSERT THAT THEIR ROLE IN BACKING UP GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE RETURN OF DISPUTED ISLANDS IS NOW MORE VITAL THAN EVER. REVERSION ACTIVISTS ARE LOBBYING VIGOROUSLY AND PROBABLY SUCCESSFULLY FOR REINSTATEMENT OF THEIR SIGNATURE DRIVE IN SNOW FESTIVAL. BUT EVIDENT INDIFFERENCE OF PUBLIC TO FLAP INDICATES THAT ISSUES IT RAISES ARE NOT CENTRAL TO CONCERNS OF MOST PEOPLE HERE. END SUMMARY.
- 2. IN SURPRISE MOVE DECEMBER 17, SAPPORO SNOW FESTIVAL'S PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE VOTED TO EXCLUDE FROM FESTIVAL SITE ANNUAL SIGNATURE DRIVE SPONSORED BY NORTHERN TERRITORIES REVERSION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE.

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ORGANIZATIONS. COMMITTEE JUSTIFIED ACTION WITH ARGUMENT THAT SIGNATURE DRIVE, WHICH HAS BEEN HELD AT FESTIVAL SINCE 1969, CREATES EXCESSIVE NOISE AND CONGESTION AND INJECTS INAPPROPRIATE "POLITICAL OVERTONES" INTO FESTIVITIES. LEADERS OF LOCAL REVERSION ORGANIZATIONS INDIGNANTLY PROTESTED COMMITTEE'S DECISION AND SOLICITED AID OF GOVERNOR AND MAYOR, AMONG OTHERS, IN EFFORT TO SECURE REINSTATEMENT OF SIGNATURE DRIVE. FESTIVAL'S ORGANIZERS

HAVE RESPONDED BY DEFERRING ANNOUNCEMENT OF FINAL DECISION ON ISSUE TO PLENARY SESSION OF THEIR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY 18.

- 3. MOTIVATION BEHIND ATTEMPT TO EXCLUDE REVERSION MOVEMENT FROM FESTIVAL IS NOT YET CLEAR AS CHAIRMAN OF PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND REPUTED AUTHOR OF MOVE HAS DEPARTED COUNTRY AND IS UNAVAILABLE FOR COMMENT. BUT MANY LOCAL OBSERVERS SPECULATE THAT COMMITTEE'S ACTION WAS PROMPTED BY DESIRE NOT TO IRRITATE SOVIETS PRIOR TO FORTHCOMING JAPAN-SOVIET FISHERY NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE EXPECTED TO HAVE CRUCIAL IMPACT ON HOKKAIDO'S LARGE FISHING INDUSTRY. IN OPINION OF THESE OBSERVERS, MOVE REFLECTED WIDESPREAD CONCERN HERE THAT RECENT SOVIET 200-MILE DECLARATION PRESAGES UNUSUALLY TOUGH BARGAINING ON BOTH FISHING AND TERRITORIAL ISSUES, WHICH OUGHT NOT BE COMPLICATED BY PROVOCATION OF SOVIETS THROUGH OVERLY ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT OF LOCAL PRO-REVERSION ACTIVITIES.
- 4. OUR SOUNDINGS IN LOCAL PRESS, LABOR AND POLITICAL CIRCLES SUGGEST THAT SLAP AT REVERSION MOVEMENT MAY ALSO SPRING FROM MORE DEEPLY-ROOTED SKEPTICISM TOWARD ITS CHARACTER AND AIMS. ONE COMMON LINE OF CRITICISM IS ARGUMENT THAT, GIVEN SOVIET HARD-LINE STANCE ON NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE, PRO-REVERSION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGNS AND PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS ARE FUTILE AND EVEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE BECAUSE THEY ARE LIKELY TO HINDER AGREEMENT WITH SOVIETS ON FISHING AND TRADE ISSUES WHICH ARE OF CONSIDERABLE LOCAL CONCERN. CRITICS ALSO POINT OUT THAT HOKKAIDO BEARS BRUNT OF SOVIET DISPLEASURE WITH PRO-REVERSION AGITATION, WHICH TYPICALLY TAKES FORM OF RUSSIAN HARASSMENT OF LOCAL FISHING BOATS AND STEPPED-UP OPERATIONS BY SOVIET TRAWLERS OFF HOKKAIDO'S SOUTHERN COAST. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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- 5. ANOTHER FREQUENTLY-VOICED CRITICISM IS CHARGE THAT REVERSION MOVEMENT LACKS CREDIBILITY AS FORM OF PRESSURE ON SOVIETS BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO ATTRACT MASS SUPPORT. IN THIS VIEW, PUBLIC APATHY TOWARD MOVEMENT STEMS FROM FADING MEMORIES OF RUSSIAN-OCCUPIED ISLANDS: FROM CONVICTION THAT SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE MAKES AGITATION USELESS: FROM IDEOLOGICAL SYMPATHY FOR SOVIETS FROM LEFTISTS: AND FROM CONFUSION ABOUT SCOPE AND VALIDITY OF JAPAN'S CLAIMS IN KURILES. RESULT, SAY CRITICS, IS THAT REVERSION ORGANIZATIONS DRAW ACTIVE SUPPORT ONLY FROM RELATIVE HANDFUL OF TRUE BELIEVERS AND RELY HEAVILY ON GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY AND PATRONAGE, BOTH OF WHICH GIVEN THEIR ACTIVITIES A SOMEWHAT ARTIFICIAL AND CONTRIVED CHARACTER UNLIKELY TO IMPRESS SOVIETS.
- 6. LEADERS OF REVERSION GROUPS COUNTER WITH CLAIM THAT THEY HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS DURING PAST THREE YEARS IN MOBILIZING GRASS-ROOTS SUPPORT AND DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION. AS EVIDENCE, THEY CITE INCREASING COOPERATION BETWEEN HOKKAIDO-BASED GROUPS AND RECENTLY FORMED REVERSION ORGANIZATIONS ELSEWHERE,

PARTICULARLY THOSE IN NEIGHBORING TOHOKU PREFECTURES. THEY ALSO POINT TO GROWING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SUCH CAMPAIGNS AS SAPPORO SNOW FESTIVAL SIGNATURE DRIVE WHICH LAST YEAR ATTRACTED ABOUT 70,000 SIGNATURES, MORE THAN TRIPLE FIGURE FOR 1973. THEY ASSERT, MOREOVER, THAT SOVIET 200-MILE DECLARATION MAKES IT IMPERATIVE TO INTENSIFY THESE ACTIVITIES TO STRENGTHEN HAND OF GOJ IN RESISTING POSSIBLE SOVIET ATTEMPT TO USE FISVHING ISSUE TO FORCE CONCESSIONS ON TERRITORIAL PROBLEM.

7. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH MINOR IN ITSELF, SNOW FESTIVAL CONTROVERSY HAS BROUGHT TO SURFACE DIVERGENT VIEWS OF VALUE OF PRO-REVERSION AGITATION NOT NORMALLY AIRED HERE. SOURCES IN PREFECTURAL ADMINISTRATION, WHICH IS CHIEF BACKER OF REVERSION MOVEMENT, ASSURE US THAT ENTIRE AFFAIR IS PRODUCT OF "MISGUIDED" THINKING OF ERRANT COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN AND THAT MOVEMENT STILL ENJOYS SOLID PUBLIC SUPPORT. BUT DELAY IN REACHING DECISION ON MATTER SUGGESTS THAT SKEPTICISM ABOUT ITS UTILITY MAY BE MORE WIDESPREAD THAN THESE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SOURCES INDICATE. MOREOVER, WE HAVE SO FAR SEEN LITTLE EVIDENCE OF PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT EITHER PRO OR CON, REENFORCING IMPRESSION THAT REVERSION ISSUE IS PROBABLY PERIPHERAL CONCERN FOR MOST PEOPLE HERE, AT LEAST RIGHT NOW. FARRAR

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